7: Joest-- 58 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 881 Chin-hoan

Both Chinwan men and women are tattooed, the women more frequently than the men. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Tattooing is done with a thorn; after the process is completed they rub soot in the wounds.

The men tattoo their entire forehead, from the hairline to the bridge of the nose, with 20 to 25 horizontal lines, each one centimeter long. After a man has been thus tattooed, he is expected to begin headhunting.

7: Joest--58 [5] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

The women also tattoo their face when they have reached puberty. The design covers the face from ear to ear; the line extends from the temples at the level of the ear across the cheek and the upper lip to the other ear, and the lower line runs parallel to this, passing just below the lower lip and up to the lobe of the ear on both sides. The design consists of long lines running parallel to each other and short vertical lines which cut through them. Only the lips are left free. The resulting pattern thus emphasizes the whiteness of the teeth and the healthy red color of the gums and lips. It is distinctly attractive, but gives a strange effect until one becomes accustomed to it; it is somewhat similar to the design of the Ainu women on Yesso, which gives the appearance of a blue moustache.

I was told that the women of central Formosa also tattoo their hands.

7: Joest--58 [6] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 827 Chin-hoan

At the same time that they are tattooed young girls also have the two teeth in the corners of the upper jaw removed. One girl told me that this was done so that they could breathe better and that they could inhale more wind.

7: Joest--59-60 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 301, 304 Chin-hoan

All the Chinwan natives, the men especially, love to wear [60] ornaments. For this they use chiefly the colored glass beads imported from Europe which they string up on chains to wear around their neck. They insert small bamboo sticks into the lobes of their ears and sometimes attach a tassel made of European wool, one of their favorite articles, to these ear pendants. Sometimes they wear small polished pieces of marble attached to chains in their ears, or pieces of shell and metal with a diameter of one inch or less; they enlarge the lobes of their ears for this purpose.

11: Haguenauer--36 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 857, 864 Atayal

When a Tayal child is five, his forehead is tattooed with the distinctive mark which is worn by all the Tayal. When a boy is seven, he begins to play with a bow. He sleeps with his parents until he is ten years old, but after that he has a place in the children's bed. Little girls never sleep beside the boys, for there is a very strict taboo which keeps brothers away from their sisters.

11: Haguenauer--36 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 304, 554, 581 Atayal

The Tayal woman prides herself on her knowledge of weaving, for it is only when she is a past mistress in the art that she can be tattooed on her cheeks and around her lips with the marks which will attract the young men to her.

11: Haguenauer--36 [5] T-3 (no date) 1929 **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 304, 554 **Atayal**

By looking at the face of the person to whom you are talking, you can learn much about his rank as a warrior; for the lucky hero has some additional tattooing under his lower lip.

14: Tamai--95 [7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304 Chin-hoan

Nothing is known about the origin of the Tschinwans. They differ from the Formosans in appearance, language, customs, and manner of life; in many respects they resemble the natives of the Malakka Peninsula and those of the Philippines. They even show some similarities with the Japanese; thus the unmarried women among the Tschinwans are not tattooed. When they are wearing Japanese clothes and are seen together with the Japanese it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

14: Tamai--96 [13] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 386 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwan men tattoo their face with a dotted line extending from the top of the head to the bridge of the nose and from the lower lip to the chin. The women have only the line on the forehead; on the lower part of the face the design consists of horizontal lines. The dye used for tattooing is indigo.

14: Tamai--96 [14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Tattooing is a mark of distinction. A man who has not killed anyone may not be tattooed, and if he is not tattooed he may not marry. The women, on the other hand, are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. Men who have many skulls in their possession are held in high esteem.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

16: Müller--232-233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
304

[MC: Among the ornaments worn by the aborigines are:] ear pendants of bamboo sticks from which a tassel may be suspended. Both men and women wear these; they insert them in the lobes of their ears. [233] They pierce the lobes with a pin and gradually enlarge the opening.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--235 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304

The shell money is also used as ornaments for holiday garments or the clothing of chieftains.

17: Norbeck--21-22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 304 Atayal

[MC: For Atayal story of the origin of tattooing, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--40 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
304

"We Atayal practice tattooing. I will tell you the story of its origin. [MC: For full text of this myth, see category 539.]"

19: Guérin and Bernard--551-552 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197, 304

The Bouïok are in the interior, and they only have some frontier camps. Their dialect is a peculiar one, so they use the Tayal idiom when they want to talk with the Chinese. Their women only have their foreheads tattooed, while the men are the first ones that we have seen with a supplementary tattooing pattern on each side of the chest. [552] We had been told that the Bouïok were a scaly people, and it is true that a great many of them have skin diseases.

19: Guérin and Bernard--552 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

There are two rivers which empty into the sea near Taika and at Lokan; they serve as barriers to the powerful Ata-bou tribe, which has its own language. It is feared by the Chinese and by the aborigines in the south. The men of this tribe have their faces tattooed with the same designs that we have already seen, and then they also use horizontal arabesques on it.

19: Guérin and Bernard--553 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 304, 609

Still within the limits of the two water-courses, [VMM: the rivière Noire and the Pakan] we find the aborigines of Sibou-koun and those of Kanagou. Each of these tribes has its own dialect. Tattooing and the hatred of the Chinese are characteristic of them. The territory of these two tribes extends to the eastern slope.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 304

The ear lobe is pierced in the European fashion, but in the case of the men, it disappears almost entirely so that it can hold a bamboo cylinder which is decorated with designs, and whose front end is completed by a tuft or rosette of red wool. The aborigines of the north are much more wealthy, so they have a great many ornaments of this kind. In the south some flowers are occasionally worn in the hair.

19: Guérin and Bernard--555-556 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 304, 721

Two things are axiomatic among the savages: 1. every tribe which fights the Chinese practices tattooing; 2. the tattoo marks on the forehead and the chin are the only ones that have any fundamental meaning. In the middle of the forehead there is a rectangle two centimeters long and 1 centimeter wide; it is filled with parallel lines which are spaced a millimeter apart. The same median design is found on the chin, save that it is a little shorter.

The Chinese, who is either too naive or ill-informed, [556] states that the formula inscribed on the face of the savage corresponds to two periods of his life: puberty and marriage. Unfortunately for the son of Sem, the savage has a different interpretation for these signs.

When a boy is betweeen twelve and fourteen years old, his father, brother or some relative takes him on a Chinese-hunting expedition. If the hunt is successful, the child receives his first chevron, in this case a tattoo mark, when he brings the heads back to the village. But his chin is not decorated until he has slain a Chinese with his own hand. There is often a very brief lapse of time between the two.

The aborigines of the Morrisonien group [VMM: the authors seem to have confused Mt. Sylvia with Mt. Morrison] only use these two signs. We have seen other clans, which added a transversal bar both on the face and the chest.

It is unfortunate that women should be tattooed too since they have no share in the

hunt; but a blue mark defaces the forehead of the marriageable girl. In many cases, this is the extent of the work, but occasionally, as among the greater number of the Tayal tribes, the bride is covered with marks until her cheeks and lips disappear beneath the linear streaks of the design. Naturally this may cause severe inflammation, whereas the plain tattooing on the forehead and the chin is of no significance.

19: Guérin and Bernard--556-557 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 314, 462

Women are the only people entitled to exercise the profession, or really the priesthood of tattooing. They use a splinter of resinous pine, which is burning; the flame is held against a polished surface which is covered with a thick layer of a black substance. A thread is sprinkled with this stuff and then held at both ends to show what the design should be. The metallic teeth of a kind of comb are placed on this sketch, [557] and then hammer blows pound them into the skin. The first flow of blood is stanched with a bamboo scraper, and at this moment the tattooer dips her finger into the resinous smoke and rubs it over the wound. The operation is over, the blood soon stops flowing, and the scar is an indelible blue. Most of the clans get their tattooing wood from the Kakaougan tribe, where there are forests which are unusually full of resinous products.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560-561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 584, 585

All marriages among the savages are arranged according to the wish of the young people unless the parents refuse permission. In this case the couple may go off to hide in the mountains. Then the chief of the hamlet and the friends of the family intervene to obtain forgiveness and the recall of the fugitives. The difficulties are smoothed away, [561] and then it only remains for the tattooer to do her duty. In these conditions it costs the guilty woman ten times the price which is charged a girl before her marriage.

19: Guérin and Bernard--561 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 585

There are some clans in which the husband has his two canine teeth extracted at the time of his marriage; the bride is even more enthusiastic, and she has the adjoining incisor removed as well.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 177 Atayal

...[MC: An Atayal woman]could not understand why the whites do not like the sticks of bamboo 1 cm. thick and 6 cm. long which she wore in the lobes of her ears. She did admit, however, that the piercing of the ear with a sharp pointed piece of wood and the subsequent enlarging of the hole had been very painful. Apparently this is the reason why rings of brass or bronze, obtained from Japan, have recently begun to be preferred for the ears. Many women wear similar rings as bracelets and occasionally as anklets. I saw as many as 12 rings on one arm. Some young women proudly display glass beads from Osaka strung on strings around their necks, in place of the animal teeth or dried red berries such as the older women wear as necklaces.

22: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Abbrigines
116, 304 Atayal

Their main ornament is produced by the lengthy and painful process of tattooing the bodies of the men and the women. The man has a strip about the width of two fingers [13] running up from the base of the nose to the hairline, another from the lower lip to the chin, and sometimes also a strip on the breast. The woman is more profusely tattooed. In addition to the design on her forehead, she also has a broad stripe on her cheeks, which runs from the corners of her mouth to her ears like moustache-trainers. The old woman of the tribe, hamangoppu, pricks the design into the skin with a piece of hard wood, and then rubs into it a blue dye, which is obtained by burning certain plants and dissolving the ashes in water.

22: Wiedfeldt--13 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 773, 835 Atayal

According to the Atayal tradition, the first people on earth were a brother and a sister. The sister proposed to the brother that he marry a woman whom she had found for him near the river. The man also found this woman, who differed from his sister only in tattooing, and married her. His sister then disappeared. All the legends which describe the human race as originating from one couple, and which forbid the marriage of brother and sister, get into certain difficulties, such as occur also in Byron's Cain. The Atayals find the solution of the problem in the tattooing, which even now is the sign of being marriageable.

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 304, 756 Atayal

Division of labor among the Atayals has not yet progressed to the point of vocational training, for every family produces all that it needs itself. There are no artisans. The only exception to this rule is that of the prophetess and medicine-woman, who receives payment for her poisonous drinks, her prophecies, and especially for her tattooing, in the formof gifts which are scaled according to the means of the client, a method of calculation which is current among modern doctors also. The only profession which has been able to develop because it finds a field for its accomplishments in the custom of tattooing, is therefore one of the activities of the women, and, if one considers tattooing treatment of the body, and hence an activity which falls in the sphere of the doctor, it is a profession which in our day women have had to struggle to wring from the monopolistic control of men, while among the Atayals it is handed down from mother to daughter.

22: Wiedfeldt--42 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 671, 851 Atayal

The Atayals also possess the most important institutions of civil law. ... The mere fact of birth is a matter of indifference before the law. Only when the child receives a name, that is, when it is about three years old, does it begin to enjoy some consideration before the law. On the other hand, the capacity to carry on business is indicated by the outward sign of tattooing, instead of by age.

24: Anonymous--91 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 302, 304, 554

When their hair has reached full growth, they cut off half of it and tie it with a string. They blacken their teeth with green herbs. They pierce their ears, and the opening is so large that they can insert a wooden ring (mu-huan) through it; a piece of ivory is suspended from the ring. Most of them are tatooed on the arms and back, those who like to boast of their deeds even cover their entire body with signs, using the Dutch alphabet. They wear bracelets of cast bronze (chuo) or iron, and they may wear as many as a dozen pairs of these. They try to impress others with a feather headdress which hangs down to their shoulders (niao-ch'-ih) or with shell ornaments (kauri-pei) which they wear on their forehead. These ornaments, besides commanding respect, also have an aesthetic value for them.

25: Plaut--60 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 885

...Among all the tribes on Formosa we find that there is a distinction between the youth and the adult, at least among the men. As savages usually do not reckon their age, we cannot say that a man reaches the majority in a certain year, but it is usually when he is between sixteen and twenty. All the tribes have some external mark to denote that he is now one of the "men", but the Atayal make it depend upon the capture of a Chinese head in addition. Distinguishing marks of adults are:

among the Atayal: tattooing of the face and a gap in the row of incisors;
among the Vonum and Tsoo: a gap in the row of the incisors;
among the Tsarisen: tying up the hair of the head (children let it hang) and tattooing of the lower leg;
among the Spayowan: tattooing the upper part of the body (as one wishes);
among the Puyuma: tattooing the breast and the lower leg (as one wishes).

When a man is classed as an adult, he has certain rights:

1. the right to take part in the tribal councils;
2. the right to marry;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan, Puyuma and Amis he also has the right to chew betel.

26: Honda--471 [4]
116, 304, 535, 837

N-3

(1896) 1897

Formosan Aborigines
Bunun

A strange custom is the removal of the eye-teeth when the children are about five years old. Some of the people displayed tatooing on their hands and faces. The chief ordered the performance of a dance in my honor; ten or more women held hands and formed a large circle, swayed to and fro, and beat the rhythm with their feet as a monotonous song was heard. Men formed in a circle and engaged in the same movements. Marital faithfulness is very strictly maintained; even the chiefs have no more than one wife and are loyal to her.

31: Hofmann--607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 304 Atayal

Members of the Atayal group are tattooed, both the men and the women, while the tribes in the south of the island do not have this custom. I myself did not come into contact with the aborigines in this region; we were, moreover, safe from attacks since our expedition had sufficient arms. All the regions we saw showed evidence of the recent struggles. The forest had been destroyed and large areas were covered with Miscanthus grass which grew to the height of one meter; this grass offers excellent protection to the headhunters.

31: Hofmann--622 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 304 Tsou

The Tsou, like all the other tribes of southern Formosa, are not tattooed but they are fond of ornaments. They wear necklaces made of glass beads and shells (Fig. 7), as well as ear pendants made of rhomboid-shaped, polished wood which ends in a point. Some of them were wearing bracelets similar to the necklaces. Whether these represent medals or whether they merely satisfy the aesthetic impulse of the natives I cannot say.

31: Hofmann--622-623 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 881 Tsou

The men remove their eye teeth. I was not able to learn the reason for this, but since it is done when the boys are 13 years old, it is likely that this is connected with puberty rites. They also tear out their beards, so that all men have a clean-shaven face. The natives as well as the Chinese and Japanese have only a very slight beard. The custom of tying up the prepuce of boys is sometimes practiced...[623] Since this is not done in every case it is probably done only for protection on the paths through the woods which are overgrown with liana and thorny shrubs. The men wear a tight bellyband made of fiber. This is probably also done to protect the groin, or perhaps to help them bear their hunger more easily if there is no food; it may also have the purpose of helping them to keep their bodies slender and flexible.

37: Steere--307-308 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 302, 304, 881 Chin-hoan

"Both sexes wear the hair long, the men doing it up in a knot behind, while the women take more pains in braiding and decorating it. They have a practice of knocking out the eye teeth of the boys when they are about reaching man's estate. Both [308] men and women tattoo, the men generally being content with a perpendicular bar upon the forehead and another upon the chin, while the women tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forehead, and a complex system of lines upon the lower part of the face, that gives it a decidedly blue look. They also tattoo several horizontal bars upon the forepart of the leg below the knee. The tattooing is done near the age of puberty, and the first part tattooed is the bands upon the forehead, the complicated work upon the lower face being left until later."

37: Steere--310 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 304, 411, 226, 501 Chin-hoan

"The dress of the men is a hunting shirt made of deer or monkey skins, that does not protect the arms nor legs. The women wear a sort of tunic of Chinese cloth, and protect the fore-part of the leg with a sort of close-fitting gaiter from the thorns and spines with which the forest is filled. They do not tattoo, but have a custom of knocking out the eye-teeth of the boys, so that they reminded me of squirrels. They are not warlike, but use rude bows and arrows for hunting and protection when they are too poor to get firelocks. They are great hunters, and large strings of monkeys' and bears' skulls hung about their dwellings. I saw them fishing with small dip-nets among the pond-lily roots and leaves, and catching a species of cat-fish (Silurus). They also fish with rude spears. They use, in navigating the lake, huge hollowed trunks of camphor trees, that look as if they may have been in use a hundred years. They are very awkward and heavy, and appear to have been hollowed with fire. They are open at both ends, the water being kept out with earth and sods."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratse* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself.

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades:

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsaŋal, tʃanupak, tsivuluaŋ, giligilao, palilas, ləŋuŋai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumaŋ, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulaŋ.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuaŋ, ulili, pulalujaŋ, tsimuluŋai, tsama, gulagul, raŋaraŋ, apaŋ, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tsoˀo, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoŋ* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voŋtsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauaŋ*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluaŋ*).

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasauaŋ*) and platforms (*aluvuluaŋ*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoŋ*, are always smaller in size and can not be decorated.

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuŋuaŋ* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veŋtsiaŋ* (a kind of trousers)

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

but no table etiquette and taboo in eating need be followed or observed. Though they hunted human heads formerly, they were not cannibals. 264

V. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Atayal are famous for their wampum clothes. In the Department collections, there are many specimens. Mr. Chang Kwang-chih has given a description of twelve of them (*v.* No. 2 of the bulletin, pp. 32-34). The clothes and ornaments are of many kinds. One of the present authors (Ho) has given a description of twenty-seven specimens of Atayal clothes in the Department Collections (*v.* No. 2 of this bulletin, pp. 22-29). In this investigation, we saw eight pieces of clothes and ornaments owned by the chief's wife. they are; head band [*qaquəp*], necklace [*nili*], breast cloth [*taojax*], long gown [*sipiliay*], short gown [*atan*], waist-cloth [*toxawaq*], wrist-ornament [*pəʔi*], and three kinds of leg ornament (the upper, *qinulaja*; the middle, *qaqi*, and the lower, *qinuaax*). Other kinds of ornaments possessed by her have been lost. 292

Today, only people over fifty years of age wear thier original kinds of clothes; young people usually dress in modern style. 291

Body deformation such as tooth chipping, ear-lobe piercing, and tattooing have been abolished in recent years. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *ali-jopas* (chief's wife) and *jajot-palie* (female, 73 years od age, see frontispiece) of *tapilas* and *pisei-taxos* (female, 66 years of age) of *saβulok*. 304

1. Clothes

Gowns are long or short. Long gowns are always long enough to cover the knees. Everyday clothes [*tiwajan*] have no collars and no buttons, and are with or without sleeves and single-breasted. Full dress [*sipaliay*] has no collar, no buttons, and is without sleeves and single-breasted, but is always design-woven or wampum decorated. Full dress is worn in festival time. Only chiefs or head-hunters are allowed to wear clothes decorated with copper bells. Short gowns [*atan*] only cover the chest and are always above the navel. They have no collar, no buttons, and are without sleeves and single-breasted. *tajo* or toga is made of a single piece of cloth about one meter square, it is used to protect one from cold weather, and may also be used as a blanket to cover one's body at night. The other kinds of clothing are: head bands [*qajapis*], turbans [*qaquəp*], breast-cloths [*taojax*], leggings [*saolox*], the breechclouts [*pula*] of men, and the waist-cloths [*toxawaq*] of women. Rattan hats [*paβoβin na quani*] are only worn by men. A rattan hat covered with bearskin is called *qaβoβin na galox*, and is worn only at festival times. 291

Women, on the ordinary days, wear togas, breast-cloths, waist-cloths, and leggings, and long or short gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Men wear togas and breechclouts, and long gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Children wear long gowns with or without sleeves and togas. Most of their everyday clothes bear no designs. Clothes worn in festival times mostly elaborately design-woven or wampum decorated; and instead of wearing leggings, they wear leg-ornaments. Except [292]

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

291 for the hat and breechclout of men and the comb and waist-cloth of women, men and women wear the same kind of clothes. At the time of a funeral, they wear old clothes, for according to their old tradition, all clothes which are worn at a funeral must be cast away.

[292] A deer-hide rain-coat [*xanqu na βaqanox*] is employed to protect them from the rain.

Clothes and ornaments are made by women. If a woman cannot make clothes, it is difficult for her to get married. Their cloth is made of hemp. After contact with the Han people, the Atayal have bought cloth from them and do not weave industriously as in former days.

They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

301 2. Ornaments

Ornaments include ear-ornaments [*pintalaŋ*], neck ornaments [*nili*] (made of shell), [*nqalo*] (made of glass-beads), arm-ornaments [*paʃi tonaŋ*] (those used by men have hair of the hunted head attached to them), wrist-ornaments [*paoˀi*], finger ornaments [*qaqamut*], waist-belts [*xaxaβok*], leg-ornaments [*qinulaja, qaqj, qinuwax*], etc. All these ornements, except the finger ornaments, are worn at festival times. Finger ornaments or a finger ring are ordinarily worn on the middle finger [*poaqaŋ*] or ring finger [*soˀai*]; a woman of talent may wear a ring on her forefinger [*qomi iao*] or little finger [*soˀai tsuβalai*]. One may wear ornaments from his or her early teen-age.

Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeiluqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *mqqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβaˀaŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

304 4. Ear-lobe piercing [*pulaxan papaq*]

They pierce their ear-lobes between the ages of five to ten years. There is no specialist for piercing the ear-lobe. Earlobe piercing mostly takes place on a frosty winter day. The ear-lobe is first rubbed with frost and then pierced with a bamboo needle. A piece of sweet potato is put behind the lobe of the ear to be the anvil when the operation is in process. After four days the bamboo needle is removed, and a grass stem is stuck into the hole instead of it. Grass stems will gradually be increased in number until the hole is large enough for the ear-ornaments. The larger hole on the lobe is considered the more beautiful. Men and women have the same

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kind of ear-ornaments. Ear-ornaments are mostly worn on festival days. The Atayal start to wear ear-ornaments from about fourteen years of age. Ear-ornaments are especially important for the participants of a head-hunting expedition as stated above.

5. Tooth-chipping [*ʃinpaŋ*]

The two upper incisors are chipped away at about thirteen years of age. Tooth chipping is done by a man with special technique. At the time of the chipping, the elder brother or cousin of the one who is going to recieve the operation holds the head and covers the eyes of the operatee to release him from fear. A piece of iron [*βali*] and an iron axe [*pa'alu*] are employed for chipping away the teeth. If the tooth is not chipped off at once, it will be removed by a knife. Blood will continue to flow for about three days, and it is washed away with water. Within these three days, he is excused from work.

6. Tattooing

According to the position of the tattoo on the body, the tattooing of the Atayal may be divided into the following five kinds: (1) forehead-tattoo [*pinterxowan*], (2) cheek-tattoo [*pintergaβoŋan*], (3) chin-tattoo [*pinterqaye'an*], (4) breast-tattoo [*pintergaβoŋan*], and (5) leg-tattoo [*pintersaŋaβa*]. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *jajot-palie*, who is the only woman with breast tatoo ever seen among the whole Atayal.

(1) Forehead tattoo—A man who attains the age of fourteen and a woman who attains the age of eleven, can have the forehead tattoo (*v.* pls. III and IV). *joqex-etex* reported that "in the ancient time, only men with military achievements (head-hunters) were allowed to have forehead-tattoo, but later, this rule had been loosened, so those who had participated in the head-hunting trip and had carried the victim's head might also be allowed to have forehead tattoo. In the old days, without a forehead tattoo and chin-tattoo (man) or cheek-tattoo (woman), it would be very difficult for one to find a mate. The forehead-tattoo is a line of about one centimeter in width and three or four centimeters in length, running vertically on the forehead.

(2) Cheek-tattoo—The cheek tattoo is confined to women only. A girl may have a cheek-tattoo (*v.* pl. IV: 1) at her first menstruation. A cheek tattoo is a mark that cover both ckeeks. Each ckeek has a band four centimeters in width. These bands on both cheeks join at the mouth and forms a V-shaped design. The band on each cheek consists of a design of three tattooed strips and two blanks. In the blank-strip, there are a row of cross marks.

(3) Chin-tattoo—The chin-tattoo is confined to men only. It is tattooed at the same time with the forehead-tattoo (*v.* pl. IV). A chin-tattoo is a vertical line of one centimeter in width leading from the lower lip to the end of the chin.

(4) Breast-tattoo—Though no limitation of sex is imposed, the breast-tattoo is only confined to men with military achievement and women with chastity and skillful weaving technigues. The tattoo mark is a vertical line of one centimeter in width and three centimeters in length (*v.* frontispiece). According to *βonai-tolao* of *paqali*, his

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304 grandfather's breast mark was different from what we described above. That is, beside the vertical line, each side of it had three horizontal short lines. It is said that each of these short lines represented five heads which had been hunted by him.

(5) Leg-tattoo—The leg-tattoo is confined to women only. No qualifictaion has been ordained. The leg-tattoo of *jajot-palie* is a straight line with barbs about two centimeters in width and three centimeters in length. That of the wife of *joqex-etex* is a square mark of about three centimeters on each side with a pair of diagonal lines inside of it.

The tattooer [*papatas*] has special training; all the tattooers are women. There is no tattooer in *tapilas* today. Tattoo operations are mostly performed in winter time to avoid suppuration. The instruments employed consisted of a small knife [*βuli*], a wooden hammer [*tatutʃin*], needles [*lao*], an instrument for wiping blood [*qaquwar*] and soot from the bottom of a pot [*ilox*]. Tattooing was done under a shaded place. A mat was laid for the one who was going to recieve the operation to lie upon. After a prayer had been offered, the operator sat close to the head of one who lay on the mat. She used a small knife to draw lines on the face of the operatee, and then with needles in her left hand, and a wooden hammer in her right hand, she started the operation. Blood was wiped away with a bamboo instrument. After each section of the desigh had been done, she rubbed the soot on it. A man's forehead and chin tattooes needed about two hours, and a woman's cheek tattoo needed ten hours. The operator was rewarded with cloth and food.

VI. HOUSING

342 Atayal houses were originally of the semi-subteranean type, but these are not found in Chin-shui Ts'un. Houses, except granaries are all built on the ground level.

1. Processes of building a house

342 A house may be built in any season of the year. In former days, if anyone (who
764 is more than three months old) of the family dies, he will be buried inside the house and the house will then be abandoned. The chief of the village related that the custom had been given up in 1929. From 1929 they buried their dead in the grave yards, so today they do not change their houses as frequently as before. But even today they do not build a new house on the old site, this custom may be regarded as the survival of the old tradition.

342 Their process of building a new house is as follows:

(1) Collecting materials—The materials for building a house are: wood, bamboo, and rattan. Tree trunks are used to be ridge pole, beams, rafters, and other kinds of posts. Bamboos are used to make the walls and roof. Rattan is used for tying together the posts or other parts of the house. Materials are collected one month before the house is to be built. They are transported to the site by both man and woman, though house-building is mainly the man's work.

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苗栗縣泰安鄉錦水村文臉及胸的泰雅族老婦 (何廷瑞攝)

An Atayal old woman showing tattooed face and breast. Chin-shui Ts'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127a (frontispiece, Chinese text)/